THE SHAKESPEARE ASSOCIATION BULLETIN

VOLUME 19, 1944

Reprinted 1963
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Of The Original Publisher

AMS REPRINT COMPANY
New York 3, N. Y.

THE SHAKESPEARE ASSOCIATION BULLETIN

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VOL. XIX 1944

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Published quarterly, in January, April, July and October, by The Shakespeare Association of America, Inc., 601 West 113th Street, New York.

Subscription rate, $2.00 per year, postpaid. Single copies, fifty cents.

Membership in the Association includes annual subscription.

All correspondence relating to the conduct of the BULLETIN should be addressed to Dr. Samuel A. Tannenbaum, 601 West 113th Street, New York, N. Y.

Other matters relating to the work of the Association should be referred to the Secretary.

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SHAKSPERE AND HIS CONTEMPORARIES

(A Classified Bibliography for 1943)

Compiled by
SAMUEL A. TANNENBAUM

The following bibliography, based on an examination of the contents of more than 1,400 periodicals and hundreds of books in the N. Y. Public Library and in the library of Columbia University, is a continuation of those published in the January issues of this Bulletin for some years past. Only those items have been listed which I thought contributed a new idea or a new fact. The names of female writers, if known, are distinguished by a colon after the initial letter of the baptismal name. The titles of books and pamphlets are printed in italics. If no year of publication is mentioned in connection with an item, 1943 is to be understood. The discussion of a book, as opposed to an edition, is indicated by printing the title within single quotes and omitting 'ed' after the contributor's name. The following abbreviations have been employed:

Amer	—American
Archiv	—Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen
B	—Bulletin
Bei	—Beiblatt zur Anglia
bib	—bibliography
Bll	—Blätter
Bn	—Boston
comp	—compiler
CUP	—Cambridge University Press
d	—der, die, das, dem, &c.
DNS	—Die neueren Sprachen
dt	—deutsch, &c.
ed(d)	—editor(s)
ELH	—Journal of English Literary History
Elizn	—Elizabethan
Engl	—English, englische, &c.
ES	—Englische Studien
facs(s)	—facsimile(s)
fr	—from
GR	—Germanic Review
Hist	—History, Historie, Histoire
HLQ	—Huntington Library Quarterly
il(s)	—illustration(s)
J	—Journal
JEGP	—Journal of English & Germanic Philology
Lang	—Language
Libr	—Library
Lit	—Literature
Ln	—London
M	—Magazine
MLN	—Modern Language Notes
MLQ	—Modern Language Quarterly
MLR	—Modern Language Review
MP	—Modern Philology
NQ	—Notes & Queries
OUP	—Oxford University Press
Oxf	—Oxford
P	—Press
PMLA	—Publications of the Modern Language Ass'n of America
port(s)	—portrait(s)
p.p.	—privately printed
PQ	—Philological Quarterly
Pr	—Proceedings
Q	—Quarterly
R	—Review, Revue
Repr	—Reprinted, reprints
RES	—Review of English Studies
SAB	—Shakespeare Ass'n Bulletin
Sh	—Shakespeare, Shakspere, &c
Shn	—Shaksperian
SJ	—Shakespeare Jahrbuch
SP	—Studies in Philology
TAM	—Theatre Arts Monthly
TLS	—Times Literary Supplement
trn	—translation
u	—und
U	—University
UP	—University Press

That I am sincerely grateful to all who have helped me in the preparation of this bibliography goes without saying.

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O. HENRY AND SHAKSPERE

By William Bran Gates

Don't you think that Shakespeare was a great writer?" she would ask, with such a pretty little knit of her arched brows that the late Ignatius Donnelly, himself, had he seen it, could scarcely have saved his Bacon.

O. Henry: *A Poor Rule.*

In his various stories O. Henry refers to Shakspere nearly a hundred times. In most of his extended allusions, he shows a tendency to word-play or to an unexpected turn similar to that manifest in the plots of his stories. The following passages are representative:

1. With these I love to sit upon the ground and tell sad stories of the death of kings.

(*The Duel.*)

Far better to linger there . . . than . . . sit upon the horsehair sofa . . . and . . . drivel in the ears of gaping neighbors sad stories of the death of colonial governors.

(*The Head-Hunter.*)

For God's sake, let us sit upon the ground
And tell sad stories of the death of kings.

(*Richard II, III,* ii.)

2. [The town] was set like a little pearl in an emerald band.

(*Fox-in-the-Morning.*)

This precious stone set in the silver sea.

(*Richard II,* II, i.)

3. I come to the conclusion that discretion was the best part of filibusterin'.

(*The Shamrock and the Palm.*)

The better part of valor is discretion.

(1 *Henry IV,* V, i.)

4. The gentleman who announced that the world was an oyster which he with his sword would open made a larger hit than he deserved.

(*Springtime a la Carte.*)

Why, then, the world's mine oyster,
Which I with sword will open.

(*Merry Wives of Windsor,* II, ii.)

5. 'Twill serve—'tis not so deep as a lobster a la Newburgh, nor so wide as a church festival doughnut; but 'twill serve.

(*The Third Ingredient.*)

It is not so fragrant as a mothball nor so thick as pea-soup; but 'tis enough—'twill serve.

(*A Municipal Report.*)

'Tis not so deep as a well, nor so wide as a church-door; but 'tis enough—'twill serve.

(*Romeo and Juliet,* III, i.)

6. Maybe, like love, they [ghosts] are "engendered in the eye."

(*A Ghost of A Chance.*)

[Beauty] like fancy . . . "is engendered in the eyes."

(*A Poor Rule.*)

Tell me where is fancy bred,

. . .

It is engender'd in the eyes.

(*Merchant of Venice, III,* ii.)

7. The patience of that official, often strained in extending leniency, . . . had been overtaxed.

(*The Reformation of Calliope.*)

The quality of mercy is not strained.

(*Merchant of Venice,* IV, i.)

8. [The ranchman] ran like a lapwing back to the ranch-house.

(*Hearts and Crosses.*)

Look where Beatrice, like a lapwing, runs
Close to the ground.

(*Much Ado about Nothing,* III, i.)

9. I'm really afraid that all the stage is a world, anyhow, and all the players merely men and women. "The thing's the play," is the way I quote Mr. Shakespeare."

(*The Thing's the Play.*)

All the world's a stage,
And all the men and women merely players.

(*As You Like It,* II, vii.)

The play's the thing
Wherein I'll catch the conscience of the king.

(*Hamlet,* II, ii.)

10. "I've noticed you, Sam," says I, "seeking the bubble notoriety in the cannon's larynx a number of times."

(*The Moment of Victory.*)

Seeking the bubble reputation
Even in the cannon's mouth.

(*As You Like It,* II, vii.)

11. We may achieve climate, but weather is thrust upon us.
(*A Fog in Santone.*)

Some are born great, some achieve greatness, and some have greatness thrust upon 'em.
(*Twelfth Night,* II, v.)

12. If there's any tears to shed, let 'em fall for the actress that gets . . . thirty to forty-five dollars a week for taking a leading part in a bum show."
(*The Momento.*)

If you have tears, prepare to shed them now.
(*Julius Caesar,* III, ii.)

13. Foster got his straw hat . . . and walked out of the air (as Hamlet says).
(*The Venturers.*)

Will you walk out of the air, my lord?
(*Hamlet,* II, ii.)

14. This goodly promontory, the earth, . . . was to him [Catesby] no more than a pestilent congregation of vapours.
(*The Reformation of Calliope.*)

[Freshmayer] looked upon the earth as a sterile promontory.
(*The Complete Life of John Hopkins.*)

This goodly frame, the earth, seems to me a sterile promontory, . . . no other than a pestilent congregation of vapours.
(*Hamlet,* II, ii.)

15. Congregation of customers.
(*A Ruler of Men.*)

16. She fled up the lane pursued by the avenging glass of form.
(*The Defeat of the City.*)

Why, you . . . underdone leader of cotillions, you glassy fashion and moulded form.
(*The Moment of Victory.*)

The glass of fashion and the mould of form.
(*Hamlet,* III, i.)

17. The slings and arrows of outrageous fortune fell blunted from the buckler of his . . . pride. With especial resignation did he suffer contumely and injury at the hands of bartenders.

(*The Higher Abdication.*)

The slings and arrows of outrageous fortune, . . .
The heart-ache and the thousand natural shocks
That flesh is heir to . . . .
The oppressor's wrong, the proud man's contumely, . . .
The undiscovered country from whose bourn
No traveler returns.

(*Hamlet,* III, i.)

18. [The physician] mentioned a string of grievances that the flesh is heir to.

(*Let Me Feel Your Pulse.*)

19. The cause of liberating an undiscovered country from the ills that threatened . . . it.

(*A Ruler of Men.*)

20. Imperial Caesar . . . asleep in such a way, might shut his mouth and keep the wind away.

(*The Hiding of Black Bill.*)

Imperious Caesar, dead and turn'd to clay,
Might stop a hole to keep the wind away.

(*Hamlet,* V, i.)

21. We might say about your friend [an Aztec god]:

Imperious What's-his-name, dead and turned to stone—
No use to write or call him on the phone.

(*He Also Serves.*)

22. It was upon this hint that the Minister of War acted.

(*The Admiral*)

. . . Upon this hint I spake.

(*Othello,* I, iii.)

23. On the Rio Grande border if you take a man's life you sometimes take trash; but if you take his horse, you take a thing the loss of which renders him poor indeed, and which enriches you not—if you are caught.

(*A Double-Dyed Deceiver*)

Who steals my purse steals thrash; 'tis something, nothing; . . .
But he that filches from me my good name
Robs me of that which not enriches him,
And makes me poor indeed.

(*Othello,* III, iii.)

24. The daws may peck upon one's sleeve without injury, but whoever wears his heart upon his tympanum gets it not far from the neck.

(*The Thing's the Play.*)

. . . 'tis not long after
But I will wear my heart upon my sleeve
For daws to peck at.

(*Othello,* I, i.)

25. There was no mandragora in the honorary draught of learning that he had bought.

(*New Arabia.*)

Not poppy, nor mandragora, . . .
Shall ever medicine thee to that sweet sleep
Which thou owedst yesterday.

(*Othello,* III, iii.)

26. At the head of the insurgent party appeared that Hector and learned Theban . . . Don Sabas Placido.

(*The Flag Paramount.*)

I'll talk with this same learned Theban.

(*King Lear,* III, iv.)

27. [Fourth Avenue] staggers northward full of good intentions. Where it crosses Fourteenth Street it struts for a brief moment proudly in the glare of the museums and cheap theatres.

(*Bird of Bagdad.*)

Life's but a walking shadow, a poor player
That struts and frets his hour upon the stage
And then is heard no more.

(*Macbeth,* V, v.)

28. Hyperbole, compliment, praise . . . golden opinions . . . vied with one another . . . in his speech.

(*A Poor Rule.*)

I have bought
Golden opinions from all sorts of people.

(*Macbeth,* I, vii.)

29. [A vat for dipping sheep was] A vast iron cauldron with the fires of Avernus beneath it. [Into the cauldron is cast a various lot of ingredients] allowed to stew and fume until the witches' broth is strong.

(*Law and Order.*)

(*Macbeth,* IV, i.)

I had thought to have let in some of all professions that go the primrose way to the everlasting bonfire.

(*Macbeth,* II, iii.)

30. No primrose way . . . could woo the remorseful soul of Perkins the bereft.

(*The Pendulum.*)

Do not, . . .
Show me the steep and thorny way to heaven,
Whilst, . . .
Himself the primrose path of dalliance treads.

(*Hamlet,* I, iii.)

31. [The furnished flat] did not exactly beggar description, but it certainly had that word on the look-out for the mendicancy squad.

(*The Gift of the Magi.*)

As for Tonia, though she sends description to the poorhouse, let her make a millionaire of your fancy.

(*The Caballero's Way.*)

He was beggared for words with which to formulate adequately his dissent.

(*Proof of the Pudding.*)

For her own person,
It beggard'd all description.

(*Antony and Cleopatra,* II, i.)

32. The baseless fabric of a vision, then, shall furnish my theme.

(*An Unfinished Story.*)

Like the baseless fabric of this vision,
The cloud-capp'd towers . . . shall dissolve.

(*The Tempest,* IV, i.)

These representative passages show that O. Henry was familiar with at least the well known Shaksperian phrases and that he usually wove them into his own sentences with a deliberate, occasionally somewhat artificial, "twist."

NOTES ON OTHELLO'S "BASE INDIAN"

By Grace Hunter

IN a history of Rome by Ammianus Marcellinus, translated and published by Philemon Holland in 1609, Ammianus tells the following story:

> "For well knowne it is, that in the time of Maximian Caesar, when a fort or campe of the king of Persia was rifled, a certaine common souldiour after he had met with a Parthicke sachell, wherein were perles, upon simplicitie, for want of skill and knowledge, threw out the gemmes, and went away sufficiently contented with the beautie onely of the lether bagge."[1]

Since *Othello* was first performed in 1604, Holland's translation cannot be taken as Shakspere's source. The fact that Ammianus's history was read by the learned and that Holland considered it important enough to make an English version for those without sufficient Latin to read the original makes it seem likely that Shakspere had read or had heard the story. Ammianus does not identify the poor soldier, but the name *Indian* was rather loosely applied in Shakspere's time to people living in the region from the Euphrates to the Nile. In the third century the Romans were following the practice, in use for some time, of drafting barbarians and captive prisoners into the army. Shakspere might, of course, have written *Judean, Judaean,* or *Judian,* as some editors think; and there were probably men from Judah in the Roman army.

If *Judean* or *Judian* was the word in the manuscript, the printer could have mistaken it for *Indian;* or the more familiar term may have been substituted for the unusual *Judean,* as happened in the case of *lauds* and *tunes* in *Hamlet.* If *Indian* is accepted as the reading, it would seem that with a specific story of an unimportant and ignorant man who threw pearls away, it is no longer necessary to explain the "base Indian" as an American savage, as Kittredge does in his notes to *Othello* (1941), in which he quotes once more the familiar passages from Nashe, Chapman, and Drayton.

II

A defence of *Judean, Judaean,* or *Judian* may also be made, as several editors have already done. If Shakspere

had been reading Josephus, a translation of which was in existence by 1602, he may have had in mind the mean birth of Herod when he wrote the lines

> of one whose hand,
> Like the base Indian, threw a pearl away,

together with other parallels of the Herod-Mariamne story. The inferiority in birth of Herod to Mariamne is brought out vividly by Josephus. Antigonus affirmed to Herod's face before the Romans, "That they would not do justly if they gave the kingdom to Herod, who was no more than a private man, and an Idumean, *i.e.* a half Jew . . . . "[2] When Herod had brought under his control all Galilee, except the hardy men who hid in caves in the mountains, he let soldiers down in chests from the mountain tops to drive them out. A certain old man killed one by one his seven children as they came out to give themselves up to Herod. Last he slew his wife. But before he cast the dead bodies over the precipice and himself followed them, he "greatly reproached Herod with the meanness of his family, although he was then king."[3] Mariamne, herself the daughter of a king, taunted the mother and sister of Herod with the meanness of their birth. Othello can, of course, boast that he owes his life and being to "men of royal siege"; but his nobility of birth only makes his action in killing his wife show him the more base.

Another parallel is in the relation of Mariamne to Sohemus into whose charge Herod gave his wife when he was going on a journey. On his return Mariamne professed to her husband that she owed Sohemus thanks for the care he had taken of her and asked for a place in the government for him, which was accordingly bestowed upon him.[4] Eventually Herod had Sohemus killed because, like Othello, he suspected Mariamne of infidelity though she "said all an innocent woman could possibly say in her own defence."[5] Herod's intense love for his wife, his passionate jealousy and Mariamne's death because of it have been noted before; but not, I think, the relation between Sohemus and Mariamne, which, in some respects parallels that between Desdemona and Cassio. Nor has attention been called to the insistence on the distinction in breeding which Iago made to fester in the mind of Othello and which comes out in the epithet

base. It is worthy of note, too, that Brabantio addresses Desdemona as 'jewel' (I, 3, 195).

Possibly the word which Shakspere wrote was neither *Indian, Judean,* nor *Judian,* but *Idumean,* which looks sufficiently like *Indian* to be mistaken for it. The extra syllables in the line could hardly daunt the poet who had just written

Of one not easily jealous, but, being wrought.

Grinnell College, Grinnell, Iowa.

[1]Ammianus, *History of Rome,* translated by Philemon Holland, 1609, Lib. 22, Chap. III, p. 192; Bohn's Classical Library, translated by C. D. Yonge, Bk, XXII, Ch, 4, p. 282; Ammianus, translated by John C. Rolfe, Vol. II, p. 201.

[2]Josephus, *Works,* translated by Wm. Whiston, Vol. I, p. 602.

[3]*Ibid.,* p. 605.

[4]*Ibid.,* p. 633.

[5]*Ibid.,* p. 619.

POLONIUS'S ADVICE TO LAERTES

By Max Huhner, M. D.

IN the *Shakespeare Association Bulletin* for October, 1943, on page 187, there appears an article with the above title, by Dr. N. B. Allen, followed by an editorial comment thereon on page 191.

The discussion brought out in these two articles is not a new one, but one which has been going on among Shaksperian scholars for very many years.

In examining the opinions of the commentators of the past we find that, like the authors of the above articles, they deem it necessary to adopt one of two divergent views. The one group holds that Polonius was a senile old fool, and, accordingly find it necessary to decry or under-estimate the lines of his advice, in order to make them conform with the sayings of an old fool. On the other hand, there is the group which considers Polonius to be a truly wise man, and therefore do not find it necessary to undervalue this speech.

Most of the critics advocate the first opinion, namely that Polonius was a fool and therefore the speech cannot be of value.

Thus Hudson, in discussing the lines

> "To thine own self be true,
> And it must follow as the night the day,
> Thou can'st not then be false to any man."

makes the following statement:

> "This is regarded by many as a very high strain of morality. I cannot see it so; though, to be sure, it is as high as Polonius can go; it is the height of worldly wisdom,—a rule of being wisely selfish. In the same sense, 'honesty is the best policy'; but no truly honest man ever acts on that principle; and a man who fixes upon no higher rule than that of being true to himself, will never be really true to himself. This is one of the cases wherein a man must aim at the greater, else he will not attain the less. In other words, a man will never be really true to himself, unless it be a matter of conscience with him to be true to something higher than himself. A *passion* for rectitude is the only thing that will serve."

Professor Dowden is even more harsh in his criticism of the entire speech.

> "Its significance", he says, "must be looked for less in the matter than in the sententious manner. Polonius has been wise with the little wisdom of world prudence. He has been a master of indirect means of getting at the truth, 'windlaces and assays of bias'. In the shallow lore of life he has been learned. Of true wisdom he has never had a gleam. And what Shakspere wishes to signify in this speech is that wisdom of Polonius' kind consists in a set of maxims; all such wisdom might be set down for the head-lines of copy-books. That is to say, his wisdom is not the overflow of a rich or deep nature, but the little, accumulated hoard of a long and superficial experience. This is what the sententious manner signifies. And very rightly Shakspere has put into Polonius' mouth the noble lines
>
> 'To thine own self be true,
> And it must follow, as the night the day,
> Thou canst not then be false to any man.'
>
> Yes: Polonius has got one great truth among his copy-book maxims, but it comes in as a little bit of hard unvital wisdom like the rest. '*Dress well, don't lend or borrow money;* to thine own self be true'."

Other critics have followed in the same strain, and I will not burden this little essay with examples from their writings. The gist of them all is the same, namely, that Polonius was an old fool, and therefore what he says cannot be regarded as great philosophy. This speech must therefore be considered to be nothing more than ordinary talk, etc.

But all our difficulties vanish if we make a careful study of all of Shakspere's works. We will then find that he was so lavish with his philosophic thoughts and beautiful sayings, that he threw them about in the most careless fashion and put some of his finest thoughts into the mouths of ignorant persons and even into the mouths of children. In other words, whenever some great thought or some happy expression came to him, he at once put it down and placed it into the mouth of the character who was talking at the time, irrespective of whether such person was a child, an uncultured person or a philosopher. A few examples of this characteristic of Shakspere, which, by the way, was one of his greatest errors, will now be presented.

Let us quote from *Richard II,* and for the time being, let me call the characters A and B.

> A. "Go, bind thou up yond dangling apricocks,
> Which, like unruly children, make their sire
> Stoop with oppression of their prodigal weight:

Give some supportance to the bending twigs.
Go thou, and like an executioner,
Cut off the heads of too fast growing sprays,
That look too lofty in our commonwealth:
That must be even in our government;
You thus employ'd, I will go root away
The noisome weeds, that without profit suck
The soil's fertility from wholesome flowers.

B. Why should we in the compass of a pale
Keep law and form and due proportion,
Showing, as in a model, our firm estate,
When our sea-walled garden, the whole land,
Is full of weeds, her fairest flowers chok'd up,
Her fruit trees all unprun'd, her hedges ruin'd,
Her knots disorder'd, and her wholesome herbs
Swarming with caterpillars?

A. Hold thy peace:
He that hath suffer'd this disorder'd spring
Hath now himself met with the fall of leaf;
The weeds that his broad-spreading leaves did shelter,
That seem'd in eating him to hold him up,
Are pluck'd up root and all by Bolingbroke;
I mean the Earls of Wiltshire, Bushy, Green.

B. What! are they dead?

A. They are; and Bolingbroke
Hath seiz'd the wasteful king. O! what pity is it
That he had not so trimm'd and dress'd his land
As we this garden. We at time of year
Do wound the bark, the skin of our fruit-trees,
Lest, being over-proud in sap and blood,
With too much riches it confound itself;
Had he done so to great and growing men,
They might have liv'd to bear and he to taste
Their fruits of duty; superfluous branches
We lop away that bearing boughs may live:
Had he done so, himself had borne the crown,
Which waste of idle hours hath quite thrown down.", etc.

Who spoke these beautiful and philosophic words? I do not refer to the beauty of the language but to the poetic ideas, and the philosophy of the entire theme. Was it some great diplomat, was it a philosopher, or a poet? No. It was a common gardener and his servant. And in order to emphasize the lowness of the two speakers, Shakspere introduces the Queen, who had been hidden and had overheard

their conversation, and who suddenly comes forward, and addresses the gardener as follows:

"O! I am press'd to death through want of speaking.
Thou, old Adam's likeness, set to dress this garden,
How dares thy harsh rude tongue sound this unpleasing news?
What Eve, what serpent, hath suggested thee
To make a second fall of cursed man?
Why dost thou say King Richard is depos'd?
Dar'st thou, thou little better thing than earth,
Divine his downfall? Say where, when, and how
Cam'st thou by this ill tidings? speak, thou wretch."

A.

"Pardon me, Madam: little joy have I
To breathe this news, yet what I say is true.
King Richard, he is in the mighty hold
Of Bolingbroke; their fortunes both aré weigh'd:
In your lord's scale is nothing but himself,
And some few vanities that make him light;
But in the balance of great Bolingbroke,
Besides himself, are all the English peers,
And with that odds he weighs King Richard down.", etc.

I have purposely quoted this speech of the Queen, in order to show that there could be no doubt of the low position of the gardener and his servant. Even at the present time, the education of the average gardener is nothing to boast of, and certainly, in the time of Richard II, when reading and writing were the attainments of only a few, his knowledge and philosophy were certainly far less. But Shakspere in writing his *Richard II,* was inspired with the beautiful thought of comparing the government or rather misgovernment of England under Richard II, with the arrangement of a garden and its trees and plants. Once that thought inspired him, Shakspere put it down, and did not care that he put it into the mouth of a common gardener. The last words of the gardener, quoted above, also show what beautiful metaphors Shakspere at times put into the mouths of his most uneducated creations.

Again, the prattle of the son of Macduff is certainly full of worldly wisdom, and yet whenever he is mentioned, he is referred to as a baby.

Finally, let us quote one more example.

"That Julius Caesar was a famous man;
With what his valor did enrich his wit,

His wit set down to make his valor live:
Death makes no conquest of this conqueror;
For now he lives in fame, though not in life."

These beautiful thoughts were not expressed by any great man in the play, but by a little boy, namely, the young prince in *Richard III*. The actual age of this child can easily be ascertained by consulting history, but Shakspere gives us the impression that he was very young, for his mother, the Queen, as well as his murderers always refer to him and his brother as the gentle babes.

Again in his description of the murder of the two young princes in *Richard III,* Dighton and Forrest, who are described as "fleshed villains, bloody dogs", describe their crime in the following poetic language.

"Oh, thus", quoth Dighton, "lay the gentle babes",—
"Thus, thus", quoth Forrest, "girdling one another
Within their innocent alabaster arms:
Their lips were four red roses on a stalk,
Which in their summer beauty kissed each other

.....

We smothered
The most replenished sweet work of nature
That from the prime creation e'er she framed.",

Certainly two hired assassins in the time of Richard III, were not likely to speak in this lofty strain.

I have of course purposely omitted quoting from plays in which wise sayings are put into the mouths of "fools". As is well known, some of these so-called fools were really court jesters and at times really wise men, who received this title not because they were fools, but in order to give them the privilege of saying truths without the danger of punishment.

Many other illustrations will naturally occur to the Shaksperian scholar, for Shakspere is full of such examples of making lowly persons utter deep philosophy and poetry. As above stated, it is really one of Shakspere's faults, but nevertheless it is characteristic of him.

Incidentally, I am one of those who do not consider Polonius a senile old fool, and for the following reasons.

Certainly the King did not so regard him, or he would not have made the following remark concerning Polonius.

"The head is not more native to the heart,
The hand more instrumental to the mouth,
Than is the throne of Denmark to thy father."

There are some critics who believe that this remark from the King indicates that he was under great obligation to Polonius in obtaining the crown. Even if this were so, it certainly indicates that Polonius was of some distinction in Denmark at the very commencement of the play.

But there are other passages in *Hamlet,* which show that Polonius was no fool, although we may not like him or his unethical methods. His advice to Ophelia concerning her love to Hamlet is very sane. His directions to his servant Reynaldo how to spy on his son Laertes and how to discover how his son is behaving, is certainly very shrewd, though it may be considered mean and unethical. He was certainly much more diplomatic than were the young friends of Hamlet, Rosencrantz and Guildenstern.

Again when Polonius says to the King and Queen,

"Hath there been such a time, I'd fain know that,
That I have positively said 'T is so',
When it prove'd otherwise?"

neither the King nor Queen denied this allegation. His method of using his daughter Ophelia to kelp the King and himself in spying on Hamlet, though we may not like the method, was certainly not the act of a senile fool. And finally his method of spying on the Queen when she was conferring with Hamlet was exceedingly clever: had the Queen not become excited he would have got at the innermost secret of Hamlet's supposed madness, for Hamlet had been frankly unburdening himself of his innermost secrets.

Again, in *All's Well That Ends Well* the Countess, on taking leave of her son, makes the following remark.

"Love all, trust a few,
Do wrong to none: be able for thine enemy
Rather in power than use, and keep thy friend
Under thy own life's key: be check'd for silence
But never tax'd for speech."

As will be noticed, these words of the Countess are very similar to those which Polonius addressed to his son, yet no one considers the Countess a senile old fool or tries to disparage the beauty and worldly wisdom in the above lines.

The main point of this essay however is not my personal opinion as to the wisdom or the folly of Polonius or my appreciation of his lines, but it is my desire to call attention to the peculiar characteristic of Shakspere in disseminating at random his most beautiful and philosophic utterances, and dispensing them in the most careless manner. In is therefore neither necessary to consider Polonius a fool nor to decry his justly famous speech in order to understand it.

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THE MIRROR OF ALL CHRISTIAN KINGS

By John C. McCloskey

THE final play of the Plantagenet cycle presents Henry V, the son of the usurper Bolingbroke made king by Parliament, as the great warrior-king of England, the brilliant conqueror at Agincourt, and the embodiment of the national spirit of England. As in Holinshed, Henry is a king loved by all men, humane and just in peace, valiant and hardy in war, humble and devout in victory, a king of qualities most praiseworthy and of virtues notable, "a pattern in princehood, a lodestar in honour, and a mirrour of magnificence." He is the ideal prince of the Renaissance. Early in the first scene the Archbishop of Canterbury eulogizes the reformed tavern prankster and long-familiar companion of Sir John Falstaff as suddenly learned in divinity, skillful in government, expert in warfare, and competent in statecraft. Henry V is, in the words of the Prologue, "the mirror of all Christian kings." The name of God is ever on his lips; and not only is God on his side as his cause it just, but it is to God that he generously gives the credit for the slaughter of ten thousand Frenchmen and fellow-Christians in one bloody day.

It is, of course, abundantly evident that this son of Henry Bolingbroke is an inspiring leader, a dauntless warrior, and a well-loved sovereign, yet it is evident, too, that far from being 'the mirror of all Christian kings" in the conduct of warfare, to which the ethics of Christianity may presumably be applied if the warfare is between Christians, Henry V is a savage barbarian unrestrained by Christian ethics in his ruthless pursuit of victory in the war upon which he has embarked following out the politically expedient advice of his dying father to busy giddy minds with foreign quarrels.

In the siege of Harfleur, Henry practises what today we know as total war, about which no one is likely to assert that there is anything distinctively Christian. This king, who seeks ecclesiastical sanction for his war against France, who is patronizingly familiar with God, and who confidently identifies God's interests with his own, involves the terrors of murder, rape, and villainy to achieve his mind, the capitu-

lation of Harfleur. Although it may be objected that this ideal king did not intend to follow out his threats, those threats constitute what may be regarded as "a war of nerves" and would be ineffectual as threats if their maker, no speaker of idle words, was not determined beforehand to enforce them. If the French of Harfleur do not immediately surrender, Henry shouts, not only will their soldiers be defeated and slain, but horrific vengeance will be wreaked upon the innocent non-combatants; and whatever happens, the guilt, according to the English king's self-interested ethics which justify violent deeds on the ground that if the victims do not peaceably submit, they are responsible for their own destruction, will rest not on Henry but on the French who resist. There is neither Christianity nor civilization in Henry's martial tactics. If he must begin the siege again, he will leave Harfleur in ashes, and the gates of mercy, one of the cardinal Christian virtues, shall be all shut up. His rough soldiers, calloused by bloodshed and hardened in heart, shall range with conscience wide as hell and in liberty of bloody hand shall mow like grass the fair French virgins and the flowering infants. What is it to him, Henry cries, if impious and hellish war perpetrates all fell feats linked to waste and desolation?

> What is't to me, when you yourselves are cause,
> If your pure maidens fall into the hand
> Of hot and forcing violation?
> What rein can hold licentious wickedness
> When down the hill he holds his fierce career?

What if the French do not surrender at once in this "war of nerves" while Henry yet restrains his soldiers from "heady murder, spoil and villainy"? Then in a moment they may look to see:

> The blind and bloody soldier with foul hand
> Defile the locks of your shill-shrieking daughters;
> Your fathers taken by the silver beards,
> And their most reverend heads dash'd to the walls,
> Your naked infants spitted upon pikes,
> Whiles the mad mothers with their howls confus'd
> Do break the clouds, as did the wives of Jewry
> At Herod's bloody-hunting slaughtermen.
> What say you? will you yield? and this avoid,
> Or, guilty in defence, be thus destroy'd?

For cold ferocity this speech of the Christian king is unsurpassed. That these threats were made with ruthless coldness is attested by Henry's subsequent remark, IV, vi, 58-9, during the course of the battle at Agincourt: "I was not angry since I came to France until this instant." If it must be granted that warfare is, in general, un-Christian, then it must likewise be granted that at Harfleur, at least, Henry lays his Christianity aside in his ruthless practice of total war.

Despite the assertion of Henry later in the play that he has given express charge that in his army's marches through the country nothing be compelled from the villages, nothing taken but paid for, and none of the French upbraided or abused in disdainful language, this unpalatable scene is reinforced by other details inconsistent with the concept of "the mirror of all Christian kings." When after their initial defeat at Agincourt the French reorganize their forces and again threaten the English, Henry orders every English soldier to kill his French prisoners. That this command was carried out is evidenced in the following scene by the conversation of Fluellen and Gower, during the course of which we learn that in retaliation for the killing of the boys guarding the luggage by French stragglers and deserters the king has, "most worthily," caused every soldier to cut his prisoner's throat. "O, 'tis a gallant king!" Gower exclaims. In the same scene Henry dispatches a herald to some horsemen on a hill bidding them come down and fight or void the field. If they will do neither, Henry will come to them and make them skirr away as swift as stones cast from Assyrian slings.

> Besides, we'll cut the throats of those we have,
> And not a man of them that we shall take
> Shall taste our mercy. Go and tell them so.

Although the quality of mercy, which Portia lauds in *The Merchant of Venice,* is a fundamental virtue of Christian ethics, Henry time and again rejects it and conducts himself in batlle more like a butcher than a warrior. In the light of these speeches, Henry's confident assignation to God of the credit for victory is in presumptuous bad taste, and his patronizing familiarity with the Deity is once more displayed in his twisted moral sense which inspires him to

proclaim death to whoever of his own army shall boast of the victory or "take that praise from God which is his only."

Aside from these major flaws in the character of Henry V as "the mirror of all Christian kings," there are certain minor touches which detract from his greatness and make it difficult to admire his character as fully as his efficiency. He is a royal snob with an exalted concept of his greatness; he luxuriates in self-pity for the cares that the crown brings to him who wears it. Everyone, he says, lays his sins upon the king, who is subject to the breath of every fool. The only thing the king possesses which private men do not is ceremony. This sophistic rationalizing Henry carries on at some length, for he has not given a very satisfactory answer to the critical objections of the soldier Williams and must, therefore, reassure himself. Vain and empty are the shows of kingship, and not all its pomp and gorgeous ceremony can make the king sleep so soundly as the wretched slave with body filled and vacant mind. With characteristic royal snobbism Henry confuses the lowly and the wretched with the ignorant and the stupid. So conscious is this Henry of his royal differences from other men that he condescends (but not with humility) to point out his human similarities to them.

Finally, Henry's character is not displayed to advantage in his contacts with Williams, a courageous, manly, and independent common soldier. When Williams' realistic criticism of war is answered by Henry's presentation of the customary case made out for those responsible for war, Williams remained unconvinced and, chiding Henry somewhat too roundly, is involved in a quarrel with the disguised king. In the exchange of gages for this quarrel and in the subsequent events Henry exercises his immunity as a king for the sake of gratifying his exalted sense of royal greatness by playing a shabby and boorish trick upon a common soldier, who can call the man to account but not the king. Into this quarrel Henry enters as a common man, but the issue of it he evades as a king, and all that is left for Williams to do is to withdraw in embarrassed chagrin. But Henry's self-assured, kingly presumption that he can cancel out a crude

and humorless practical joke by regal condescension and by a patronizing gratuity is rejected by the sturdy refusal of Williams, who is possessed of a democratic sense of man's intrinsic worth, to be so bought off. "I will none of your money," says Williams. To this common soldier, self-respect, dignity, and honor are greater virtues than humble submissiveness to mere kingship, even when embodied in the person of "the mirror of all Christian kings."

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CATERPILLARS, SPONGES, HORSELEECHES, IN SHAKSPERE AND IN HOLINSHED

By Sarah Dodson

THE term *caterpillar* Shakspere applies five times to men in favored positions who appear to be employing their power to advance themselves or to be feeding off the bounty of the state at the expense of the people; he uses *sponge* once and *horseleech* once with the same meaning.[1] I wish to present here some evidence which points to Holinshed's *Chronicles*[2] as the source of these three figures.

Let us examine the passages in Shakspere where the words occur in this sense. In *2 Henry* VI, III, i, when the Duke of York hears the announcement that England's claim to territory in France has been relinquished, he exclaims to himself (ll. 87-90):

> Cold news for me! for I had hope of France
> As firmly as I hope for fertile England.
> Thus are my blossoms blasted in the bud,
> And caterpillars eat my leaves away.[3]

Somerset and his confederates are doubtless the caterpillars here;[4] in pretending to serve the king, they are playing a game of their own and are thus endangering the success of York's plan—to establish himself on the throne. Further on in the same play, in IV, iv, where *caterpillars* is found again, the application of the figure is very definite. The multitude following Jack Cade in his revolt against the king stigmatize as caterpillars all those above them in rank or privilege (ll. 36, 37):

> All scholars, lawyers, courtiers, gentlemen,
> They call false caterpillars and intend their death.

Again, in *Richard II* the word *caterpillars* is applied twice to irresponsible favorites of the king who have been eating up the substance of the land. First it comes from the mouth of Bolingbroke (II, iii, 165-167):

> By Bushy, Bagot, and their complices,
> The caterpillars of the commonwealth,
> Which I have sworn to weed and pluck away.

These lines point forward in the drama to the garden scene (III, iv), where both the setting and the political situation are in keeping with the figure. One of the servants describes the kingdom as a neglected garden choked up with weeds, its "fruit trees all unprun'd" and its herbs "swarming with caterpillars" (ll. 40-47). The whole conversation between the gardener and his servants emphasizes the fact that King Richard has permitted his young associates to impoverish his subjects and finally to ruin himself.[5]

In *1 Henry IV,* II, ii, 88, Falstaff brands as *whoreson caterpillars* the travelers whom he and his companions are robbing. The victims are not necessarily officials, but Bardolph has explained that the money they are carrying is destined for the king's exchequer, and Falstaff humorously assumes that they are fattening themselves off the state. The imagery here is essentially, then, the same as that in *2 Henry VI* and *Richard II.*

Sponge as Hamlet uses it in a conversation with Rosencrantz (*Hamlet,* IV, ii, 11-22) is closely related to *caterpillars* above. Although, from one point of view, the word describes Rosencrantz and Guildenstern in their role as spies, from whom the king will extract information after they have gathered it, at the same time Hamlet is ironically implying that ultimately they may be squeezed dry of the "rewards" which they have been soaking up:

> When he needs what you have glean'd, it is but squeezing you and, sponge, you shall be dry again.

Thus the sponge may not only take in, like the caterpillar, but it may also yield up what it has absorbed.

In *Henry V,* II, iii, Pistol boldly characterizes himself and his companions as horseleeches. He is not, it is true, a courtier dependent on the royal favor, but a soldier, an employee of the state and the king, who expects to profit from the spoils of war. He calls out in anticipation of what the opportunity will bring (ll. 56-58):

> Yoke-fellows in arms,
> Let us to France, like horse-leeches, my boys,
> To suck, to suck, the very blood to suck![6]

Later on in the action (IV, iv), by threatening his French prisoner with the sword, he extracts a promise of two hun-

dred crowns for ransom. And as he disappears with the captive, he exclaims (1. 68),

> As I suck blood, I will some mercy show!

According to *A New English Dictionary, caterpillar* in the sense of "one who preys upon society"—as Shakspere uses it in the foregoing passages—appears in ome other English writers of the sixteenth century; and certain scholars have indicated that the figure of the *sponge* goes back to Suetonius.[7] Two passages in Holinshed, however, in one of which caterpillars, sponges, and horseleeches are closely tied together, suggest very strongly the imagery in Shakspere. Both of them record incidents in the reign of Henry III. In the first, "certeine couetous persons," who have been enriched by the privileges that the king has allowed them, are called "caterpillars," "horseleeches," and "sponges" (pp. 214, 215):

> The king called a parlement at Westminster, wherein declaring what charges he had been at diuers waies, he required to haue a subsidie granted him, for the releefe of his want, which was flatlie denied, the Nobles and other estates excusing the pouertie amongst all degrees of men, by manie eudient reasons. Herevpon the bishop of Winchester being a verie eloquent and faire-spoken man, openlie counselled the king to fauour his people, whom he had alreadie made poore and bare with continuall tributes and exactions. And if it were so that he stood in such need as was alleged, that then he should take into his hands againe such possessions and things, which during the time of his yoong yeeres he had bestowed vpon his seruants, without any good aduised consideration, for lacke of ripe iudgement and discretion, and againe to take from certeine couetous persons, who now were become *horsseleches and caterpillers in the commonwealth,* all such offices as they held, and had verie much abused, causing them to yeald vp their accounts, and to *vse them after the manner of sponges,* so that where he had in times past *made them full of moisture,* he might now *wring them drie,* following herein the example of Vespasian.[8]

In the second passage, the pope and the king, who together have been draining money from the English people, are portrayed as horseleeches with insatiable appetites (p. 253):

> So that the pope and the king seemed as though the sheepheard and woolfe had beene confederate togither to the destruction of the poore flocke of sheepe, threatning euerie mans vndooing, to their

owne inriching: and not ceasing, till with fulnesse they were forced to fall from the flesh, much like *bloudsucking horsseleeches,* of whose nature it is notablie noted, that

> Non missura prius carnem, quam plena cruoris,
> Quando haeret tenerae mollis hirudo cuti:
> Imbelles populi quid nisi praeda manent?

All the figures to which I have called attention in Shakspere show two basic resemblances to the first of the passages quoted from the *Chronicles*: (1) a king is, directly or indirectly, the source of wealth or power; (2) men in positions of privilege are represented as using their power to enrich themselves or to secure some other advantage. The situation depicted in the second passage is not essentially different, for the king and the pope can satisfy their rapacity only by supporting each other. Furthermore, "bloudsucking horseleeches' readily recalls "horseleeches," "suck," and "blood," in Pistol's speeches in *Henry V*. The sponges as described by Shakspere and by Holinshed are almost identical: they are now swollen with moisture which they have soaked up, but, at the king's pleasure, they may be wrung dry again. This figure is in Suetonius, as we have seen; and Holinshed mentions Vespasian to show that Suetonius is his source. But I am suggesting that Shakspere may be indebted to Holinshed directly and thus only indirectly to Suetonius. The strongest evidence, however, that Shakspere borrowed from Holinshed lies in the resemblance between the caterpillar figure in *Richard II* and that in the *Chronicles*. The accusations brought against Richard are very close to the charges of the Bishop of Winchester in his arraignment of Henry III; and the epithet *caterpillars* is equally applicable, in each situation, to those who have absorbed the wealth of the nation. Moreover, one of the expressions in the *Chronicles,* "caterpillers in the commonwealth," is almost exactly duplicated in Bolingbroke's speech.

These parallels between Holinshed and Shakspere are too obvious, I believe, to be without significance. It is true that Shakspere might have come across the figures elsewhere than in the *Chronicles;* but since he was reading Holinshed, it seems highly probable that he found these two passages and was arrested by them. Even if he had seen the figures

in other places, would not the fact that here, in one incident, they are inextricably bound together tend to vivify them in his imagination? What happened subsequently in Shakspere's mind may, therefore, in a small way, fit in with an explanation that Robert A. Law has given with reference to another source: Shakspere drew upon the old *Leir* play for a long scene in *Richard III* and went back to that play years later for the main plot in *King Lear.*[9] Similarly, it appears, the imagery which linked together caterpillars, sponges, and horseleeches made an impression which persisted for years in Shakspere's mind. These figure, then, buried in his consciousness, emerged from time to time, now one, now another, on each occasion with some difference in situation, but always with the same basic meaning.

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[1]*Caterpillars* appears in *Venus and Adonis,* l. 798, in a different figurative sense, and in *Pericles,* V, i, 60, with a literal meaning. There is another occurrence of *sponge,* in *The Merchant of Venice,* I, ii, 108, where it obviously stand sfor "drunkard." See John Bartlett, *A New and Complete Concordance of the Dramatic Works and Poems of Shakespeare.*

[2]Raphaell Holinshed, *Third Volume of Chronicles,* London, 1587.

[3]In quoting from the plays, I am following the text of George Lyman Kittredge, *The Complete Works of Shakespeare* (Boston, 1936).

[4]York is probably thinking of Suffolk also. See I, i, 124-131.

[5]The symbolism of the garden in *Richard II* (aside from the caterpillars) is suggested in a number of places in Holinshed. The closest parallel I have found is in the following excerpt from the reign of Henry III: "The archbishop of Canturburie called a synod of the bishops and abbats inhabiting within his province, that . . . they might foresee some redresse for releefe of the English church, now in these late yeares sore disquieted by new oppressions, more greeuous than had beene accustomed; for the king by counsell, or rather by the whispering of some flatterers and enimies to the realme, was so induced that he permitted certeine euill customs, as thornie brembles to increase in the fruitful garden of pleasure, and to choke vp the trees that brought foorth fruit in great plentie" (p. 256). Of less significance, I believe, is a passage from the reign of King John which gives a picture of swarming insects. Holinshed is commenting on the spread of the Roman religion into Wales. After the year 1146, he says, "these vermine [apparently monks and friars] swarmed like bees, or rather crawled like lice ouer all the land, and drew in with them their lowsie religion, tempted with I wot not how manie millians of abhominations" (p. 195).

[6]*Horseleech* is found nowhere else in Shakspere, but akin to it is *bloodsucker,* which occurs twice. After Humphrey's death in *2 Henry VI,* Warwick, in his accusations, calls Suffolk a "bloodsucke" (III, ii, 226); and in *Richard III,* as Grey is being led to execution, he execrates as "bloodsuckers" Ratcliff and other satellites of Richard (III, iii, 5). Although in each instance the immediate meaning is doubtless "murderer," circumstances in the action show that the term includes "parasite" also.

[7]*N. E. D.* explains that *caterpillar* in early times was "distinctly transferred and used synonymously with the earlier *pillar,* but afterwards only *fig.* with conscious reference to the literol sense." Kittredge, in commenting on *caterpillars* in *1 Henry IV*

(Boston, 1940), note, p. 132, says: "The regular term for 'parasites' or persons who enrich themselves at others' expense—especially for corrupt officers of the government." He refers to examples in *Richard II* and several of Shakspere's contemporaries, but he makes no mention of Holinshed. The note on *sponge* in iKttredge's *Hamlet* (Boston, 1939), p. 250, is in part as follows: "The figure (as Caldecott notes) is derived from a passage in Suetonius (*Vespasian,* 16): 'Creditur etiam procuratorum rapacissimorum quemque ad ampliora officia ex industria solitus promovere, quo locupletiores mox condemnaret; quibus quidem vulgo pro spongiis dicebatur uti, quod quasi et siccos madefaceret et exprimeret umentes'." John Dover Wilson, in his *Hamlet* (Cambridge, 1934), note, p. 218, also says that the figure comes from Suetonius. He calls it "a commonplace of the time." *N. E. D.* describes the *horseleech* as "an aquatic sucking worm . . . differing from the common leech in its larger size, and in the formation of its jaws," and defines it figuratively as "a rapacious, insatiable person." Only one example is given of this figurative use before 1608.

[8]The italics in these extracts from Holinshed are my own.

[9]"*Richard the Third,* Act I, Scene 4," *P. M. L. A.,* XXVII (1912), 117-141. See also George C. Taylor, "Hermione's Statue Again," *S. A. B.,* Vol. 13 (1938), 82-86.

SHAKSPERE AN ANTI-SEMITE?

By S. A. T.

THE Shakspere worshiper loves to think of the poet as having been in his personal life gentle, sweet, sober, sensible, honest, fair, modest, industrious, peace-loving, sincere, affectionate, truthful, broad-minded, and tolerant, even though the meagre records regarding him do not support the application of all these adjectives to him. For one thing, it is certain that he was—at least for a time—ridiculously chauvinistic and stupidly intolerant of foreign peoples. See, for example, his many derogatory references to Turks ("never trained to offices of tender courtesy") and his repeated slurs at the French. Recent Italian scholarship has taken exception to the unfair treatment accorded their countrymen—"as poison-tongued as handed"—by the Bard. It is not surprising, then, to find that his treatment of Jews in his plays is typical of the anti-Semite's bigotry.

Shakspere's references to Jews are always uncomplimentary. In *Macbeth* the weird sisters (the "witches" of careless readers) make the liver of a "blaspheming" Jew an ingredient of their hell-broth; in *Two Gentlemen of Verona* the clown Launce says to the fool Speed that if he does not accompany him to the ale house he is "a Hebrew, a Jew, and not worth the name of a Christian;" in *Much Ado About Nothing* the gulled Benedick says that if he does not reciprocate Beatrice's love he is "a villain, . . . a Jew;" in *Love's Labor's Lost* the stupid clown, Costard, applies to the foolish and fantastic Armado the term "incony Jew"—a passage in which the word still waits for a satisfactory explanation, though it probably has reference to something indelicate, vulgar, or obscene;[1] in *A Midsummer-Night's Dream,* in the farce of *Pryamus and Thisbe,* occur the words "eke most lovely Jew," where it is evident that the absurd adjective "lovely" was used to get a laugh from the audience; in *Henry IV* the cowardly, rascally Falstaff, challenged for his brazen lies, says that if he is not telling the truth he is "a Jew, an Ebrew Jew." Not even once in all of Shakspere's works is the term "Jew" used with a respectable connotation.

Shakspere's anti-Semitic prejudice is clearly shown in *The Merchant of Venice*. Tubal is a malicious Jew who delights in torturing Shylock. Jessica is a dishonest and disloyal father-hating minx. Shylock is a sordid, miserly, revengeful, bloodthirsty, hypocritical Jew, created by Shakspere to delight his stupid audience. In this play the Jew is repeatedly likened to the devil and the devil to the Jew. The speech "Hath not a Jew eyes? etc.—a ridiculous speech which might as aptly be put into the mouth of a dog, if it could speak—is proved by the vicious last sentence to have been written to beget guffaws and hisses: "The villany you teach me I will execute, and it shall go hard but I will better the instruction." No, no! This play was not written to beget sympathy for the Jew—the Jew who has a heart than which, says Antonio, nothing is harder.

In defense of Shakspere it will undoubtedly be said that he had no precedent for any other treatment of the Jew. Marlowe's *Jew of Malta* and the stir created by the unfortunate tale of Dr. Lopez, convicted (improperly, it is true) of having plotted to poison Queen Elizabeth, would have made any other treatment of Jews on the stage dangerous, perhaps impossible. But it should not be forgotten that in a play published in 1590—*The Three Lords and Three Ladies of London*—the author, one "R. W.", brought on the stage an honest and decent Jew.

It seems, then, though we hate to say it,—but truth is truth,—that in his prejudices Shakspere was the typical arrogant, bumptious, unthinking Englishman of his day whose religion and philosophy—if he had any—did not make him a better man. Even a great artist may live on a low spiritual level: Pope may have been right: "Shakspere for gain, not glory, winged his flight."

[1]This is corroborated by the expression "incony vulgar wit" in the play at IV, i, 144.